

Roosevelt Denounces Republican 'Thieves' and 'Burglars'

Bitter Toward Members of National Committee Who Have "Stolen" His Delegates and Would Wreck the Party—Believes People Will Condemn "Monstrous" Actions of Taft Leaders.

Chicago, Ill., June 17.—Following is the address delivered by Colonel Roosevelt at the demonstration held in his behalf this evening:

My Friends and Fellow-Citizens:

I address you as my fellow-Republicans, but I also and primarily address you as fellow-Americans, fellow-citizens, for this has now become much more than an ordinary party fight. The issue is both simpler and larger than that involved in the personality of any man, or in any ordinary party contest. We are standing for the great fundamental rights upon which all successful free government must be based. We are standing for elementary decency in politics. We are fighting for honesty against naked robbery; and where robbery is concerned, the all-important question is not the identity of the man robbed, but the crime itself.

Fate Matters Little.

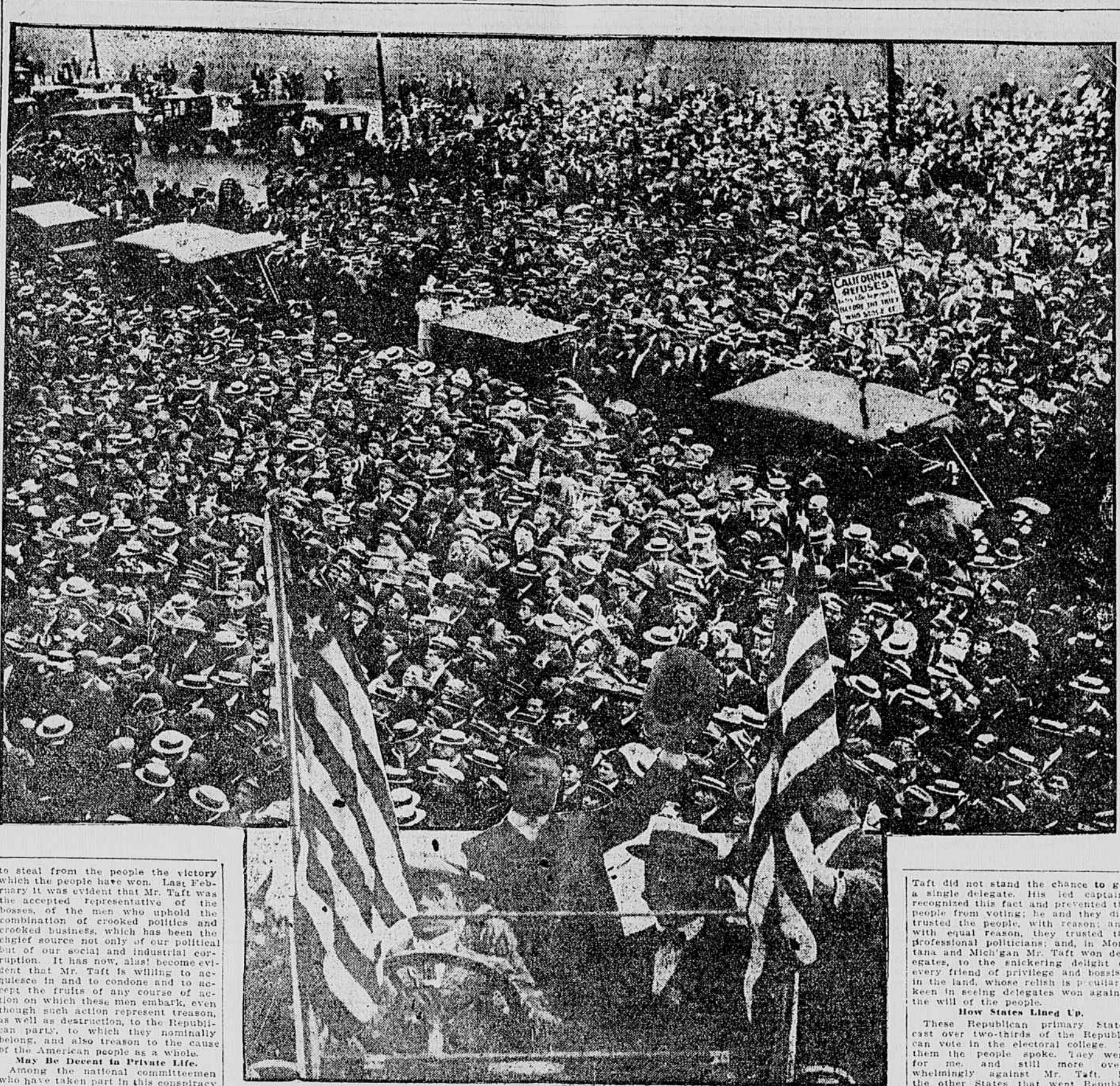
As far as Mr. Taft and I are personally concerned, it little matters what the fate of either may be. But with Mr. Taft's acquiescence, or by his direction, and in his interest, his followers have raised an issue which is not a partisan issue; it is more than a political issue; it is a great moral issue. If we condone political theft, if we do not resist the kinds of wrong and injustice that injuriously affect the whole nation, not merely our Democratic form of government, but our civilization itself, can endure. If the methods adopted by the national committee are approved by the convention, which is about to assemble, a great crime will have been committed. The triumph of such proceedings at the moment would mean the wreck of the Republican party, and if such proceedings become habitual, it would mean the wreck of popular government. The actions of the Taft leaders in the national committee, taken with the active aid of Mr. Taft's private secretary, and of one of Mr. Taft's cabinet officers, are monstrous, and they should be indignantly condemned by the moral sentiment of the whole country.

To-night we come together to protest against the kind of wrongs which are being done in the heart of every principle of political decency and honesty, a crime which represents treason to the people, and the usurpation of the sovereignty of the people by irresponsible political bosses, inspired by the sinister influences of moneyed privilege. We here in this hall are engaged not only in a fight for the rights of every decent Republican; we are engaged in a fight for the rights of every decent American whatsoever. Our party may be, and our friends may be, for one thing at least we should be profoundly grateful. We are more fortunate than our fathers, in that there is no slightest tinge of sectionalism in the fight we are now waging. The principles for which we stand are as vital for the South as for the North, for the East as for the West. We make our appeal to all honest, far-sighted and patriotic Americans, no matter where they may dwell.

Taft Abandons People.

When in February last I made up my mind that it was my duty to enter this fight, it was after long and careful deliberation. I had become convinced that Mr. Taft had definitely and completely abandoned the people and had surrendered himself wholly to the addressees of the professional political bosses and of the kind of privileged interests standing behind them. I had become convinced that unless I did make the fight, it could not be made at all, and that Mr. Taft's nomination would come to him without serious opposition. The fight has justified both my beliefs. I very earnestly ask our fellow-progressives who have supported other candidates to remember that one of the cardinal principles of the doctrine which we hold in common is our duty to the people, and in good faith to abide by the well-thought-out and honestly expressed action of a majority. The overwhelming majority of the Republican progressives have declared for me. It has become clear beyond shadow of doubt that if I had not made the fight, it would have been completely broken down, and there would have been no substantial opposition to the forces of reaction and of political crookedness. Let those who are convinced with the fortunes of a particular candidate, and who are convinced that the principle of securing the triumph of a particular candidate is a means for securing the triumph of a particular candidate, ponder these facts and retain in this crisis from playing into the hands of our enemies.

Mr. Taft at first denied that he represented the bosses. His denial was of little consequence, for his deeds belied his words. But I doubt if at present he would venture to repeat the denial. As it has become constantly more and more clear that the people are against him, he has more and more undignifiedly thrown himself into the arms of the bosses. Here in Chicago at this moment he has never had one chance of success save what was given by the actions of Messrs. Crane, Penrose, Brook, Penrose, Murphy, Gurneheim, Mulvane, Sabot, New and his associates in cheating the people out of their rights. He was beaten so overwhelmingly by the people themselves in the States where primaries were held that in the last State in which he spoke, in New Jersey, he permitted himself to be betrayed into the frank admission that he expected to be nominated because he believed the national committee would stand by him. One member of his own cabinet, representing a State that has just repudiated him, has been working hard in glove with the other Taft members of the national committee, under the lead of Mr. Crane, of Kansas; of Mr. Penrose, of New Jersey; of Mr. Sabot, of West Virginia—all of whom have just been repudiated by their own States—



CHICAGO WELCOMING COLONEL ROOSEVELT.

to steal from the people the victory which the people have won. Last February it was evident that Mr. Taft was the accepted representative of the bosses, of the men who uphold the combination of crooked politics and crooked business, which has been the chief source not only of our political but of our social and industrial corruption. It has now, almost become evident that Mr. Taft is willing to acquiesce in and to condone and to acquiesce in the kind of wrongs upon which these men embark, even though such action represents treason, as well as destruction, to the Republican party, to which they nominally belong, and also treason to the cause of the American people as a whole.

May Be Deceit in Private Life.

Among the national politicians who have taken part in this conspiracy there are a number of men who in the ordinary relations of life are doubtless decent and reputable. Probably these men excuse themselves to themselves for what they are now doing on the ground that they are not committing any crime, but that they are only doing what the law recognizes as a crime. It may well be doubted whether on the whole our country does not suffer more from the misdeeds of men who recognize as their obligation to the people only the obligation of honesty, than it suffers from the misdeeds of actual criminals. Men like Messrs. Crane, of Massachusetts; Messrs. Crane, of Connecticut, and Nagel, of Missouri, who trail behind their hold-over associates, such as Messrs. Penrose, Murphy, and Mulvane, are doubtless genuinely shocked at the misconduct of a defaulting bank cashier or at the failure of some small election official who on election day falsifies the returns.

Yet the wrong to the American people, the damage to the country by such action as these national politicians have taken, is deliberately seeking to nullify and overthrow the will of the people legitimately expressed as to their choice for President. It is infinitely greater than the wrong done by a defaulting cashier or a falsified election official. It has to do with both a sad and a strange thing to see men who are esteemed as reputable take part in such a thing. I suppose the explanation must be found in the fact that the bosses and their associates, such as Messrs. Crane, Penrose, Brook, Penrose, Murphy, Gurneheim, Mulvane, Sabot, New and his associates in cheating the people out of their rights. He was beaten so overwhelmingly by the people themselves in the States where primaries were held that in the last State in which he spoke, in New Jersey, he permitted himself to be betrayed into the frank admission that he expected to be nominated because he believed the national committee would stand by him. One member of his own cabinet, representing a State that has just repudiated him, has been working hard in glove with the other Taft members of the national committee, under the lead of Mr. Crane, of Kansas; of Mr. Penrose, of New Jersey; of Mr. Sabot, of West Virginia—all of whom have just been repudiated by their own States—

very greatly wish that every decent man in this country, every plain citizen, who is in doubt as to what the representatives of Mr. Taft have done on the national committee, would read this book of Judge Lindsey's. In special let him study the part in which Judge Lindsey refers to Mr. Stevenson, and then let him turn to himself just what it means when Mr. Taft and his associates refer to the help of Mr. Stevenson and import him from his own State of Colorado to act for other States on the national committee as one of the ablest men engaged in the movement to rob the people of their right to rule themselves.

No Ordinary Contest.

Our opponents here in Chicago to-day have waged such a bitter and unscrupulous fight for the very reason that this is no ordinary factional contest. The bosses who control the national committee represent not merely the great, crooked financiers, who stand behind these leaders. These political bosses are obnoxious in themselves, but they are even more obnoxious because they represent privilege in its most sordid and dangerous form. The majority of the national committee, in deciding the cases before them, have practiced political theft in every form from highway robbery to petty larceny, and political theft is as dishonest as highway robbery. There is no law to back the offenses they have committed, but morally these offenses are far more serious from the standpoint of the national committee or political than any ordinary commercial or political offense which exposes the perpetrator to be brought before the courts of justice. The committee men responsible for such action need to be taught that the national committee was created to be the servant and not the master of plain men and men who make up the bulk of the Republican party. The party belongs to the plain people of the rank and file, it does not belong to the handful of politicians who have assumed fraudulently to usurp the will of the rank and file. The

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"I have gained twenty-two pounds since last February and my baby is in perfect health. She is now four months old. I do not cough or have any more of my lung trouble is cured."

(Signed) ARTHUR MRS. M. GARVIN.

Eukemine is effective in Bronchitis, Asthma, Hay Fever, Throat and Lung disease, and in upbuilding the system, forming the blood, and other leading ailments. Ask for Eukemine of Green & Moore, 101 N. 1st St., St. Louis, Mo. For additional evidence.

action of these men is in no sense "regular," as they claim it to be. They in no way represent the people, they in no way represent the rank and file of the Republican party, and theft and dishonesty cannot give and never shall give a title to regularity. One thousand and seventy-eight men are to meet here in convention to decide the future of the Republican party. At least seven out of eight of those among them who really represent the people are against the nomination of Mr. Taft. It is the duty of all of them, their first duty, to throw out of the convention every man fraudulently seated there by the national committee. The fraudulent Taft delegates whom the national committee seated, for instance, from California, from Washington, from Indiana, from Kentucky, from Michigan, from Arizona, from Alabama, from Texas, represent nothing but the deliberate attempt by certain discredited bosses to rob the free and honest expression of the people's will.

These fraudulent Taft delegates were beaten by the voters of Washington, of California, of Texas, of Arizona, of Indiana, of Kentucky, and then they were seated by the discredited political bosses who had just themselves been beaten by the people of their own States, in Massachusetts, in New Jersey, in Pennsylvania, in West Virginia, in Kansas, in Missouri. Messrs. Crane, Penrose and company were so discredited in the eyes of the Republicans of their own States that they were beaten as delegates to the convention, and yet they arrogated to themselves the right to seat in the convention the delegates whom the States of Washington, California, Arizona, Texas and the rest have just beaten at the polls. If the convention proves fair, to the cause of the people, if it records the will of the bosses, whether unbeaten, as in New York and Colorado, or beaten, as in Massachusetts and New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Kansas, it will wreck the Republican party, it will put back the cause of democracy, it will be a stain on the principle of honor and justice. It cannot with honesty or propriety stand in any shape or way for the action of the national committee, not to mention the fact that the committee's nominees for temporary chairman and for accepting its decision as to the seating and unseating of contested delegates. There never has been a clearer line-up than this between the plain people of the country on the one side and the representatives of the powers that prey, in the world of business and their tools and instruments in the world of politics. There can be no compromise in such a contest. It is natural that the representatives of special privilege, who are not to be trusted, should resist the principle of privilege cannot count time if the people really rule, should resist unflinchingly to every kind of trickery and dishonesty in order to perpetuate their hold upon the party and should be eager callously to betray the party by its rank and file. But for this very reason we feel we have a right solemnly to appeal to all honest

men to stand with us on what has now become a naked issue of right and wrong. There can be no yielding, no flinching, on our part. We have the people behind us overwhelmingly.

We have justice and honesty on our side. We are warring against bossism against privilege, social and industrial; we are warring for the elemental virtues of honesty and decency, of fair dealing as between man and man; we are warring to save the Republican party, and the only reward which we ask is to put our duty in such shape that it shall be the highest possible service to the people of the United States.

What Fight Is For.

Now let us consider what this fight has been for. The issue has been sharply drawn not merely by the words of Mr. Taft and of myself and of our supporters, but by our several actions. I have stood for the right of the people to rule and for their duty so to rule as to work for moral, political and industrial justice. Mr. Taft has no less explicitly stood for a government of the people by what he calls a "representative party" of the people; and while he has, of course, stated in perfunctory fashion that he favors industrial justice, he has violently opposed every practical method advanced for actually doing away with industrial injustice, for actually driving privilege out of its intrenchments and for actually equalizing opportunity. At the present moment we see before our eyes here in Chicago just exactly what Mr. Taft's doctrine of government of the people by a "representative party" of the people really amounts to. Eight years ago I received electoral votes from thirty-three States. In twenty of these States direct primaries have been held, or if not direct primaries at least primaries sufficient to give the people a reasonable chance to express their preferences. In these twenty States, where the rank and file of the Republican party had a chance to express their preference, I won 255 delegates. Mr. Taft 67. Mr. La Follette 36. That is, in those States where the people had a reasonable chance to express their preferences, Mr. Taft obtained between one-seventh and one-eighth of the delegates where the people had a chance to express their will. These primary States are scattered everywhere throughout the country, from Maine to California, and it is impossible to doubt that they give an accurate measure of what the people's preference is. If the people would be if the people had been allowed a chance to vote. But Mr. Taft's representatives, wherever possible, prevented the adoption of a primary law. They prevented it in Michigan, for instance; they prevented it in Montana.

Without question, Montana and Michigan would have gone for us at least as strongly as Illinois or Oregon had there been a primary law. Before the people of either State, Mr. Taft did not stand the chance to get a single delegate. His led captains recognized this fact and prevented the people from voting; he and they distrusted the people, with reason; and, with equal reason, they trusted the professional politicians; and, in Montana and Michigan Mr. Taft won delegates, to the snickering delight of every friend of privilege and bossism in the land, whose selfish interest is kept in seeing delegates won against the will of the people.

How States Lined Up.

These Republican primary States cast over two-thirds of the Republican vote in the electoral college. In them the people spoke. They went for me, and still more overwhelmingly against Mr. Taft. In the other States that went Republican eight years ago no primaries were held, and in all but one the political bosses had nearly complete sway. In these States Mr. Taft secured 176 votes. I secured 40. Mr. Cummings 10. Of the Republican States, therefore, received the overwhelming majority of the delegates wherever the people could express themselves, and taking these States all told in spite of Mr. Taft's triumphs in the States where there were no real primaries, I received 325 delegates (including those which the national committee has stolen), as against the 243 for Mr. Taft, the 36 for Mr. La Follette and the 16 for Mr. Cummings. To put it in another way, I squarely carried twenty-one of the old Republican States, and these States cast 263 votes in the electoral college—within three of a majority of the total electoral vote. Mr. Taft carried nineteen States, where there were no primaries; to give him 32 electoral votes. Mr. La Follette carried two States with 18 electoral votes. Mr. Taft and Mr. Cummings divided one State with 13 votes. There remain States which, although Democratic at the last election, contain a genuine Republican party, States like North Carolina and Oklahoma, where there were primaries, and where I carried every delegate except three.

It thus appears that in the Republican States Mr. Taft was beaten two to one, and that in the Republican States which held primaries where the people could express their desires, he was beaten by over seven to one. I call your attention to one significant feature in the attitude of the Taft party in the States where there were primaries. In all of these States, their headlines announced a defeat for Mr. Taft. It meant that there had been a vote by the people themselves in a primary State. Whenever during the last ten days they have announced a victory for Mr. Taft, it has meant that Mr. Taft's representatives in the national committee have thrown out delegates elected by the people at large to elect them. My victories have been won before the and by the people. Mr. Taft's have been won by the bosses and by the representatives of special privilege, by the national committee and by boss-controlled conventions of machine politicians. I carried Washington at the polls, he carried it before the national committee. He never has had, and has not now, a chance with the people; he has had, just as little chance wherever the crooked type of politician has power. If I am nominated it will be because whenever they had a chance the verdict of the people expressed in millions of votes has been over two to one in my favor. If Mr. Taft is nominated it will mean the rule of the Republican party in the national committee, the rule of the party by the bosses and by the representatives of special privilege, by the national committee and by boss-controlled conventions of machine politicians. I carried Washington at the polls, he carried it before the national committee. He never has had, and has not now, a chance with the people; he has had, just as little chance wherever the crooked type of politician has power. 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